

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to set upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In Mundurucu tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martins reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martins' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of sub-tribes (regional groups of moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer-dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

²[Martins (Source No. 3) says this occurred before hand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

197 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their
101 speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually
unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors
302 and with the liangá caral. However, their most outstanding
101 outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting
which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

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The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Ourupá¹⁰ and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

726 river.¹¹ By drawing their warriors from a number of villages,
701 the Mundurucu were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages
600 between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilineality and by the system of sib and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each
614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Mundurucu villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucu of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Percy Vibeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Vibeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Trukis and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 304).

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

[32] It is obvious that Mundurucu warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly 554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucu did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parícut. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucu society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several 202 villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucu lore and songs [59] and who had taken enemy heads. [70] As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and [34] was answered by a like signal from a *Muchacha* of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucu to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who 722 took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the *Muchacha* society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts a civilizing mission against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary. (75 721)

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucu warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucu did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but necessary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucu occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucu moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucu arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucu; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. [43]

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucu warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their former followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucu valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own. (842)

The Mundurucu warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboiki was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucu, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means. 555 701

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that 721

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warlike, or the social conditions that caused the Mandurucu to direct enormous hostility against an amorphaously inimical outside world. 72/ 112

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a re-examination of Mandurucu military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mandurucu, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or *Darekhi*, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mandurucu arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 70/ 112

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilineal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mandurucu population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mandurucu man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 112

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of consistent, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregation of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was realized through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 112

The organization of 19th-century Mandurucu society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became estranged in overt 621 112 576

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tattooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú. 619
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The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might cooperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to cooperate in valued activity. 621
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Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha osyos*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage cooperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages. 721
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The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 602
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